

**The European Union (EU) Political Identity within the migrant crisis, and the Balkan –
Bosnian route; xenophobia and religious identity**

**A Identidade Política da União Européia (UE) na crise migratória e a rota Balcã -
Bósnia; xenofobia e identidade religiosa**

**La Identidad Política de la Unión Europea (UE) dentro de la crisis migratoria y la ruta
Balcánica-Bosnia; xenofobia e identidad religiosa**

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Abstract

The study aims to critically analyze the EU's political identity and how the migrant crisis embodies the most challenging political issue facing the E.U., implicating growing xenophobia and questioning European multiculturalism. Moreover, the author provides insight into the migrant crisis's socio-political and security challenges, followed by ethnographic research of the migrant's religious identity within the Balkan route. Migrations are a central issue for Europe's future, security, and identity. The EU's cultural integrity remains unclear, and the migrant crisis opens up a multiculturalism discourse. The nation-state model has undergone significant globalized world changes, becoming less sustainable and less critical for cultural, political, and economic processes. Due to the growing economic insecurity and the fear of losing national identities in an environment of globalized culture, some have perceived multiculturalism as a threat. The humanitarian and security discourse reflects the micro-level of the situation on the ground and the mass media's macro levels and political action. Acceptance of ethnoreligious or political diversity does not relieve immigrants of the duty to recognize all the rules necessary to conduct productive coexistence. Migrants' participation in socio-economic and political systems means realizing the preconditions for the beginning of cultural integration. The crisis triggered an avalanche

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of anti-Islam sentiments that became a reference matrix for radical populism. The sense of identification with the housing society-Bosniaks, where Islamic regulations on the matrix are legitimized by recognizing a universal theological pattern, is a symbolic moment and a participative approach to understanding both religion and integration. Constructing immigrants as a group, whether they are migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, tends to encourage the perception that "their "interests, values, and traditions are competing with "ours, "stimulating negative emotions in the form of prejudice.

Keywords: EU identity politics; The migrant crisis; Xenophobia; Balkan-Bosnian route; Prejudice; Religious identity; Integration.

Resumo

O estudo analisa criticamente a identidade política da U.E. e, como a crise dos migrantes incorpora a questão política mais desafiadora que a U.E. enfrenta, implicando uma xenofobia crescente e questionando o multiculturalismo Europeu. Além disso, o autor fornece uma visão sobre os desafios sociopolíticos e de segurança da crise dos migrantes, seguido por uma pesquisa etnográfica da identidade religiosa do migrante dentro da rota dos Balcãs. As migrações são uma questão central para o futuro, a segurança e a identidade da Europa. A integridade cultural da U.E. permanece obscura e a crise dos migrantes abre um discurso multicultural. O modelo de Estado-nação passou por significativas mudanças mundiais globalizadas, tornando-se menos sustentável e menos crítico para os processos culturais, políticos e econômicos. Devido à crescente insegurança econômica e, ao medo de perder identidades nacionais em um ambiente de cultura globalizada, alguns perceberam o multiculturalismo como sendo uma ameaça. O discurso humanitário e de segurança reflete o nível micro da situação no terreno e os macro níveis e, ação política dos meios de comunicação. A aceitação da diversidade etno-religiosa ou política não exige os imigrantes do dever de reconhecer todas as regras necessárias para conduzir uma convivência produtiva. A participação dos migrantes nos sistemas socioeconômicos e políticos significa a realização das pré-condições para o início da integração cultural. A crise desencadeou uma avalanche de sentimentos anti-islâmicos que se tornaram uma matriz de referência para o populismo radical. O sentido de identificação com a sociedade habitacional-Bósnias, nas quais os regulamentos islâmicos na matriz são legitimados pelo reconhecimento de um padrão teológico universal, é um momento simbólico e, uma abordagem participativa para compreender a religião e a integração. A construção dos imigrantes como um grupo, sejam eles migrantes, refugiados ou requerentes de asilo, tende a estimular a percepção de que

"seus" interesses, valores e tradições competem com os "nossos", estimulando emoções negativas na forma de preconceito.

Palavras-chave: Política de identidade da UE; A crise dos migrantes; Xenofobia; Rota Balcã-Bósnia; Preconceito; Identidade religiosa; Integração.

Resumen

El estudio analiza críticamente la identidad política de la U.E. y cómo la crisis migratoria encarna el problema político más desafiante que enfrenta la U.E., implicando una creciente xenofobia y cuestionando el multiculturalismo Europeo. Además, el autor ofrece información sobre los desafíos sociopolíticos y de seguridad de la crisis migratoria, seguido de una investigación etnográfica de la identidad religiosa del migrante dentro de la ruta de los Balcanes. Las migraciones son un tema central para el futuro, la seguridad y la identidad de Europa. La integridad cultural de la UE sigue sin estar clara y la crisis de los inmigrantes abre un discurso de multiculturalismo. El modelo de Estado-nación ha experimentado importantes cambios mundiales globalizados, volviéndose menos sostenible y menos crítico para los procesos culturales, políticos y económicos. Debido a la creciente inseguridad económica y al miedo a perder las identidades nacionales en un entorno de cultura globalizada, algunos han percibido el multiculturalismo como siendo una amenaza. El discurso humanitario y de seguridad refleja el nivel micro de la situación sobre el terreno y los niveles macro y la acción política de los medios de comunicación. La aceptación de la diversidad étnico-religiosa o política no exime a los inmigrantes del deber de reconocer todas las reglas necesarias para llevar a cabo una convivencia productiva. La participación de los migrantes en los sistemas socio-económicos y políticos significa conocer las condiciones previas para el comienzo de la integración cultural. La crisis desencadenó una avalancha de sentimientos antiislámicos que se convirtió en una matriz de referencia para el populismo radical. El sentido de identificación con la sociedad de la vivienda-Bosnias, donde las regulaciones islámicas en la matriz se legitiman al reconocer un patrón teológico universal, es un momento simbólico y un enfoque participativo para entender tanto la religión como la integración. Construir a los inmigrantes como un grupo, ya sean migrantes, refugiados o solicitantes de asilo, tiende a fomentar la percepción de que "sus" intereses, valores y tradiciones compiten con "los nuestros", estimulando emociones negativas en forma de prejuicio.

Palabras clave: Políticas de identidad de la UE; La crisis migratoria; Xenofobia; Ruta Balcánica-Bosnia; Perjudicar; Identidad religiosa; Integración.

1. Introduction

The study critically analyzes the EU's political identity and how the migrant crisis embodies the most challenging political issue facing the E.U. societies, implicating growing xenophobia and questioning European multiculturalism. Moreover, the author provides insight into the migrant crisis's socio-political and security challenges, followed by ethnographic research of the migrant's religious identity with the Balkan route is a participative approach to understanding both religion and integration.

In the security and political framework of the migrant crisis, E.U. mechanisms have proven to be "non-functional", stimulating numerous political debates by offering partial solutions. In the era of fundamental values, the very notions of trans-nationality and post-nationality are called into question. Such a trend should not hide the fact that the nation-state model has undergone significant changes in the globalized world, becoming less sustainable and less critical for cultural, political, and economic processes.

Although few people may have a primary identity as "European," such an identity can become salient in specific contexts. Identity has an individual component of active choice coupled with a collective component where individuals orient themselves to aggregate groups or collectivities. The collectivities to which one orient depend upon context and can be multiple, so it is more accurate to speak of a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), greater identification with one's nation is associated with a more significant positive bias towards one's own and a negative one towards an outside group to preserve a positive national identity.

As an ideology, multiculturalism seeks to strike a balance between unity and diversity in society. This ideology implies the promotion of cultural diversity and insists on equality and respect for all cultural groups (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). It is therefore accepted as a political solution in many Western countries, but empirical research shows that it is more accepted at the political than at the civilian level (Citrin et al, 2001). The dominant tone in the media through the concept of "mass psychology indicates a suspicious attitude towards migrants' rationality, regardless of the category of migrants, contributing to dehumanization, loss of identity, even gender orientation, through the frame of collective illegal border crossing.

The migrant crisis triggered an avalanche of xenophobia and the dispersion of anti-immigrant sentiments that became a reference matrix for radical populism. Anti-immigrant

discourse appears in parallel as a form of language use and a form of social and political interaction and the threat of terrorism, which is regularly associated with Islam. The antagonistic stereotypical narrative about migrants starts from the thesis that they constitute a retrograde social group representing an economic and security threat to the domicile population, and which is not capable of cultural assimilation in the countries of transit, reception, and final destination. According to the Integrated threat theory, an intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them some form of harm. Constructing immigrants as a group, whether they are migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, tends to encourage the perception that "their "interests, values, and traditions are competing with "ours."

It is an ambitious vision stimulating negative emotions, such as fear, and negative attitudes, in the form of prejudice. Social identity and the internalization of group values and the perception of the external group as a threat, and in the political aspect, the acceptance of more conservative political ideologies that propagate the protection of these same group values, are the primary sociopsychological mechanisms of prejudice. The literature dealing with migration provides an unlimited source of information; however, any research on a phenomenon within the concept of migration is an individual story.

Within the migrant crisis's security and humanitarian framework, significant consequences remain the social constructions of migrants as the potential victims of human trafficking/smuggling, and exploitation. In the case of BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina), identifying with a religious group is a more reliable predictor of feeling welcome in the context of a global emergency than identifying with a nation. The sense of identification with the housing society-Bosniaks, where Islamic regulations on the matrix are legitimized by the recognition of a universal theological matrix, is a symbolic moment of demarcation of territories based on sacral objects. Furthermore, arguably there are some agreed aspects of integration, including recognizing that it is a dynamic two-way process of interaction and participation; and that it should promote the economic, cultural, social and civic participation of migrants, and an inclusive sense of belonging at the national and local level (Spencer, 2010).

In addition to the existence of the so-called secularized Islam, Islam among immigrants is still (is) a very living religion and indispensable aspect of integration. The author suggests a fluid and participative approach to understanding both religion and integration. Moreover, migrants' participation in socio-economic and political systems means realizing the preconditions for the beginning of cultural integration. Furthermore, the migrant

crisis's issue has enormous detrimental consequences of BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina) socioeconomic, security, and political (in)stability.

2. Methodology

Theoretical knowledge and expertise are drawn from sociology, political science, security studies/international relations, social and political psychology, and economics, constituting a robust conceptual framework for the critical analysis. Furthermore, the qualitative approach enables me to obtain in-depth information on actors' beliefs, perceptions, viewpoints, and values. This paper engages in interpretivistic methods by analyzing the narratives, symbols, and practices on the ground. This paper's qualitative approach allows me due to the assumed value of context and setting for a deep understanding of the participant's lived experiences concerning exclusion and socio-political climate. The paperwork is broadly in social constructivism; approaching group identity analyzes these identities as constructed and contested. Analyzing these multilayered and complex issues requires an interdisciplinary approach in the form of ethnographic research. The literature review will highlight knowledge and research gaps, identify relevant initiatives, analyze evaluation/policy reports, and other official documents. (Pereira et al, 2018) The analysis of these documents will provide insights into understanding the extent to which the study's topic and phenomena are addressed as an essential factor.

3. The EU Political Identity and the Migrant Crisis

Like many other socioeconomic crises in history, the crisis of globalization is a field of strengthening the right, nationalism, and isolationism. European economic problems and migration phenomena are closely linked, all the more so as today, globalization and the financial crisis contributed to highlighting the endless borders of nation-states.

Globalization brings with it two factors that can worsen the attitude towards immigrants and the integration of immigrants. The first is the growing economic insecurity of Western countries to which immigrants come (relocation of production to countries with cheaper labor such as India and China, the consequent disappearance of jobs or the weakening of the middle class). The second is the growing fear of losing national identity in an environment of globalized culture (the arrival of migrants multiplies this fear). However, not everything can be reduced to the economy and the market, because globalization changes

customs, generates fear, and changes the sensitivity and culture of people. With this crisis, which cannot be separated from the global economic crisis, Europe has gradually transformed from an open to a closed society. It turns out that political theory on the Kant enlightenment trail, the idea of eternal peace, and cosmopolitan Europe (Beck & Grande, 2007) experiences awkward moments about the experience or situation on the ground regarding the refugee crisis or migration. Thus, the migrant crisis has "caught" Europe unprepared.

Despite being defined as a (political) subject, Europe's cultural identity remains unclear, and the migrant crisis opens up a discourse of real multiculturalism. As an ideology, multiculturalism seeks to strike a balance between unity and diversity in society. This ideology implies the promotion of cultural diversity and insists on equality and respect for all cultural groups (Fowers & Richardson, 1996).

It is therefore accepted as a political solution in many Western countries, but empirical research shows that it is more accepted at the political than at the civilian level (Citrin et al, 2001). However, the question is, how does the E.U. legitimize itself? The E.U. cannot be legitimized by the perception of "European patriotism" that can be attributed to entire European nations, unlike the United States, where language, political culture, and history have served as the "glue" of Allied design.

In Europe, this path has not happened. It is not feasible because European identity lies precisely in the pluralism of its identities, and the E.U. does not have the homogeneity of language, culture, religion, or historical memory, given the character of its various national "patriots" (Habermas, 2013: 62). This richness of national identities emphasizes the character and, at the same time, Europe's value. In this context, the recognition of a "foreigner" was initially an integral part of European identity.

On the other hand, this patrimony of plurality is necessary for "defense" against the patterns produced by globalization and the evaporation of national borders. Pluralization does not mean the absence of obligations and rules because Europe feels the need to deal with the broad sense of disorientation created by the patriotic vacuum of market rules and globalization. However, it does not mean reaffirming a qualitatively discriminatory identity. Also, it is not disputed that the acceptance of all kinds of diversity, whether ethnic, religious or merely political, does not relieve immigrants of the duty to recognize all the rules necessary to conduct the process of productive coexistence.

According to Tocqueville (1999:368) "Society is possible only when people consider a large number of cases from the same aspect; when they have the same opinion about a large number of cases when the same facts give rise to the same impressions and thoughts." In

every democratic community, one must find the embodiment of the media of state integration and supranational solidarity, necessary for the formation of a collective political will for the legitimacy of power. Thus, the state must exist with a human and social fabric consistent with it, as a political entity, within the established factors of solidarity. Habermas (2013: 76) stated that "Transnational expansion of civic solidarity depends on learning processes, which within the current migrant crisis, can stimulate the perception of the state of needs in which the economy and politics of countries find themselves." It is also undisputed that the degree of tolerance of diversity cannot be unlimited, especially if there is a risk of undermining the fundamental characteristics of Western culture, starting with democracy and liberal freedoms.

Nationalism has changed the understanding of state security, which no longer implies only the use of force and the state's ability to defend itself from threats, internal and external, and the need for legitimacy and social cohesion. The power of nationalism in the member states has been suppressed through the development of specific mechanisms, but national identities remain an inseparable part of E.U. citizens (Keane,2003:128). One way to combat nationalism is to decentralize nation-states' institutional structure through the creation of supranational institutions. Thus, supranational political institutions have been created in the E.U.'s institutional structure - the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, and the European Court of Justice.

With the migrant crisis, the question is, will Europe be able to reject some basic principles and dictate a common discipline capable of harmonizing immigration management? It seems to be a necessary step; however, it is not easy. Moreover, even in the United States, the recognition of federal jurisdiction to regulate the migration phenomenon took a hundred years.² Although few people may have a primary identity as "European," such an identity can become salient in specific contexts. Europeanisation refers to a hypothesized trend towards national institutions and nationally-based fields of activity or perspectives being supplanted by institutions or fields at the European level.

The validity of the concept can be questioned since Europeanisation, in reality, maybe only a peripheral variant of a larger trend of globalization. Transnationalism is contrasted to permanent migration and refers to "cross-border" living where, thanks to modern infrastructure, a person can maintain a social existence both in their current country of residence and their country of origin.

² This happened with the 1882 Immigration Act.

Cosmopolitanism refers to actively seeking out and appreciating contact with other cultures and hence coincides with perceived European values of tolerance and equality. Furthermore, according to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), greater identification with one's nation is associated with a more significant positive bias towards one's own and a negative one towards an outside group to preserve a positive national identity. According to Integrated threat theory, ingroup members who are relatively unfamiliar with outgroup tend to be prone to experience threats than who knows each other (Stephan & Stephan, 2016). Ingroup members who have less personal contact with outgroups also tend to experience threat compare with who have more contact. Because of all of the above, national identity is an essential component of integrated threat theory.

Mass immigration has created several problems for Europe, with substantial legal consequences arising from their solution. At the same time, trafficking and human trafficking are becoming the two fastest-growing transnational criminal activities. (Shelley, 2014). The prospects for the inclusion of immigrants, in any case, have no alternative, also because democracies are, by definition, inclusive and do not preclude the spread of citizenship. However, it must be recognized that democracies, as ideologically open systems, are also extremely vulnerable, fragile and must be protected (Baldassarre, 2002: 351), so much so that the rights to freedom declared in them can and must in some cases be defended, diminished or restricted. Thus, states prescribe rules to defend the sovereignty, freedom of others, and the human body.

On the other hand, it seems highly desirable that the European human body, made up of many national social bodies, contains many standard features that should be considered as a whole, worthy, and deserving of its identification. A solid core of European principles that unites the entire European social body exists and is generally recognized. It indeed cannot be found only in the Judeo-Christian roots of Europe (Reale, 2003). However, they can rightly be found in the secular-religious values of tolerance, respect for diversity, separation of state from the Churches, pluralism, all values equated with democracy. These values have also produced an imposing system of defense guarantees, of which the case-law of the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg is the most active.

The reputation of the law, the right to life, the protection of health and morals, the economic well-being in the public interest are explicitly determined by the interests of the European human body (Articles 8, 10, 11, Art. 2 st. 3 and 4 of Protocol 4 of the European Convention). In the axiological sense, in their neutral formulation, they gain real value by declaring the protection of the principles of freedom and democracy of the West. On the other

hand, the question of the end of the idea of political globalization in the E.U., which is now being thoroughly renationalized, radicalized with a tendency to strengthen anti-immigration parties and xenophobia. We see this in the remarkable success and results of such parties in previous elections. The right-wing trend is also recognized in the European Parliament. In recent years in Europe, in the light of the financial and migrant crisis, but also on the wave of long-lasting dissatisfaction with the process of globalization and fear of diluting national identity, right-wing political options have grown significantly. In part, this can also be seen as a reaction against the political establishment. In France, for example, the Le pen family party National Rally won. For Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz party, the arrival of asylum seekers was not a humanitarian issue but a Muslim invasion threatening the national security, social cohesion, and Christian identity of the Hungarian nation. Radical populism or populism in the narrow sense is an anti-elitist and anti-systemic thin-centered ideology that includes the division of society into "us" (just people) and "them" (opponents of a just people), bypassing the democratic process and destroying or weakening some political institutions.

The category of "thin-centered ideology" was developed by Freedman (1996), and it instructs us that populism should be seen as an ideology that comes in its political achievements in combination with some new political ideologies such as conservatism, liberalism, nativism/nationalism, etc. (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013) Instead of the pluralistic political model characteristic of liberal democracies, they construct a dualistic vision of the political system in which they try to portray themselves as "direct representatives of the people" and portray all other politicians as preventing the will of the "people" from being implemented, along with democratic institutions built. Due to the massive influx of migrants, even Sweden, one of the most liberal European countries, experienced a turn to the right in the 2018 elections. That fact points to another worrying process. Particularly suitable terrain for populist actors is created in support of influential media.

At the beginning of the arrival of the migrant wave 2015/2016, Europeans approved the reception of migrants, but over time, they became more restrained and even took a hostile attitude towards them. This attitude intensified in parallel with the growth in the number of migrants.

The mass and frequency of the scenes made many people insensitive to other people's suffering; moreover, they began to associate the concern for their social position with the issue of migration. - The refugee crisis has encouraged radical nationalist political options, xenophobia, and intolerance towards immigrants in some E.U. countries. Therefore, we can

say that the refugee crisis has spurred the rise of populism, that is, that migration is a crucial factor responsible for the growing popularity of the right-wing political option.

It can be concluded, based on scientific articles and publications, qualification work, journals, daily newspapers, and websites deal with this topic, which was published during 2017/2020 i.e., after the arrival of the migrant wave 2015/2016, that the significant role of media is in the rise of right-wing populism. Although some authors point out that media are the main culprits for this rise, this cannot be argued with certainty because there are not enough empirical analyzes about this connection. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to call media principal "accomplices," co-responsible for empowering populism and prejudice. If we link this to the migration of people from the predominantly Muslim area, the media can spread Islamophobia.

If there is more news about terrorist, physical, and sexual attacks by Muslims during the immigration wave in Europe, the public creates a negative image of the same immigrants. Terrorism usually gets ample media coverage by presenting terrorist violence through horrific images on T.V. and photographs in the press, such as images of corpses, funerals, bereaved relatives, and the destruction of buildings.

Given that the majority of the immigrant population is of the Islamic faith, there are views that Muslim culture conflicts with that of Europe on issues such as freedom of expression, women's rights, and the separation of state and church. Europeans expect a strict separation of the secular from the religious, and some Muslims find it difficult to comprehend the difference between the secular and the religious (everything is prescribed by the Qur'an). Europeans demand freedom of expression and tolerance of diversity (and therefore openly criticize religions), and Islam often strongly condemns any encroachment on its truths. There are differences regarding women's rights, but (studying the Qur'an), we can conclude that the position of women in Arab countries is primarily the result of long-inherited customs, rather than the regulations of the Qur'an.³

It is clear that there are obstacles to the full cultural integration of immigrants in the E.U. Efforts to integrate migrants should be shifted from trying to overcome cultural differences to socioeconomic ones (Laurence & Vaisse,2007). It is often forgotten to take the first step, which can significantly facilitate the path to cultural integration. If we include

³ For more on dogmatic and cultural differences and similarities between Christianity and Islam, see: J. Esposito, *What Everyone Should Know About Islam: American Expert Answers Frequently Asked Questions About Islam*, Philosophical-Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus, Zagreb, 2003; J. Gnilka, *The Bible and the Qur'an: What connects them, What separates them, The Christian present*.

immigrants in the economic system, if we employ them, if we help them start their own business, we will prevent their ghettoization and separation from society.

The framework of the difference between different categories of illegal migrants, from refugees to economic migrants, is essential in the analysis. The answer to the question of who is a refugee, who is forced to migrate and who does it voluntarily is complicated because the vast majority of migrants do not have identification documents.

The very line between "forced" and "voluntary" international migration is becoming increasingly blurred: migration is driven by a multitude of overlapping incentives associated with chronic poverty, inequality, environmental degradation, climate change, and attractive factors of real and perceived economic and educational opportunities in Europe. While it is indisputable that economic topics are among the dominant ones in immigration discussions, recent research finds that cultural factors often mediate economic evaluations.

This study identifies a religious identity as important area for further study which have the potential to make a significant positive impact for migrants, host communities and broader community cohesion and security.

The antagonistic stereotypical narrative about migrants starts from the thesis that they constitute a retrograde social group representing an economic and security threat to the domicile population, and which is not capable of cultural assimilation in the countries of transit, reception, and final destination. One of the biggest problems in intercultural relations is the experience of intergroup threat.

Although the experience of threat may arise from conflicts over limited resources, within the theory of threat, this experience does not have to be firmly grounded in objective reality, nor arise from real conflict. A realistic threat encompasses a threat to the group's economic or political power as well as its physical well-being, while a symbolic one poses a threat to the group's identity.

On the other hand, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes create a sense of threat because they imply negative expectations about the interaction (anxiety) and the behavior of members of the outside group (stereotypes). Stereotypes arise when people are not sufficiently informed about certain groups of people or specific cultures. "They represent a generalization based on limited experience." (Taps, 2013: 432) They develop in almost all situations, and one such example is a series of stereotypes that degenerated towards Jews during World War II and Hitler's rule in Germany.

Stereotypes always exist, and they arise as a result of the non-acceptance of specific individuals or groups due to different actions and functioning. According to ethnicity and

religion, classification should not exist in any situation, let alone in crises. It is wrong to list any ethnic or religious epithet such as Arab, Muslim, or Syrian next to the refugee's name. These types of threats lead to prejudice and discriminatory behavior towards members of the outside group, and according to Integrated threat theory, an intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them some form of harm. Constructing immigrants as a group, whether they are migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, tends to encourage the perception that "their" interests, values, and traditions are competing with "ours."

Globalization and media development have influenced the development of terrorism. Thus Islam is often left with a place in the black chronicles. Migration in the most liberal democracies experienced in terms of cultural threat, with the intensity and content of attitudes depending on the national context and several contextual factors. The rhetoric of political actors and media reports marked with Islamophobic tones dramatically influences the perception of citizens about Islam as a unified and militant religion.

Manipulation can be defined as a controlled procedure by which a manipulator, using symbolic means, in suitable psychosocial circumstances, sends a message to the masses through communication to influence the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of a large number of people, in matters in which there is no general agreement, and for which the vital stakeholders have directed themselves towards the beliefs, attitudes, and values of the manipulator, without even being aware of it." (Miliša, 2009: 15) In order to succeed in manipulation, it must be invisible to the public. It is achieved by publishing the truth, not lies, but they "serve" that truth in the way they want the public to understand it. G. Anders points out this fact: "No lie that holds something to itself contains untruths." Journalists who write about immigrant violence have not told the public anything untrue, but by overemphasizing the negative, they have increased public fear.

4. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and the Migrant Crisis

The influx into Europe in 2015 occurred mainly through the Balkan Corridor. Despite Europe's humanitarian and legal obligations to treat migrants/refugees with dignity in securing safe havens and asylums, restrictive migration policies have been established, often characterized by the construction of wire fences and the closure of borders along the Balkan route. (MSF,2016)

The Balkan countries are characterized by permeable borders and a porous security shield, facilitating illegal migration activities. This area is characterized by extreme fragmentation of states originating from the beginning of the crisis at the end of the last century within the historical reasons, geopolitical periphery, and "entities" defined in ethno-religious conflicts. Given the challenges of migration to come, it is the political level that should ensure a coherent and coordinated strategy of the E.U. and the Western Balkans to harmonize and improve existing normative solutions. At the moment there is nothing to suggest that a peripheral area like the Balkans, which is still structurally fragile, does not risk instability from the outside - not to mention the tendency to slip into nationalism or authoritarian reversals of a weak state as has already happened between the two wars in order to respond accurately to economic difficulties - attention to these issues must not be lowered. (Hadžić, 2020: 51)

According to official data from international organizations responsible for illegal migration, trafficking organizers in 2000 earned about 320 million K.M. (The currency of Bosnia and Herzegovina). So, at the beginning of 2000, before September 11, the Arab Spring, ISIL, about half a million migrants entered the E.U. through BiH, and Iranians, Iraqis, Pakistanis, Turks, Algerians, Afghans, Ukrainians, Romanians, Georgians sought asylum in BiH. (Karup, 2018) Thus, BiH is in imminent danger of the latest "migrant crisis" due to the influx of thousands of migrants. We can problematize that BiH protects the security and stability of the E.U. borders and faces the most significant migrations, as well as security, financial, and socio/political crisis.

There is very little official data on the position of migrants in BiH. They are mostly reduced to sporadic statements of competent officials that they give to the media. According to the data from November 2019, it is estimated that 50,790 migrants and refugees arrived in BiH in 2018 (24067) and 2019 (26723). Of this number, the majority expressed their intention to seek asylum, but officially (by November 2019), 2,300 migrants did so. Refugees predominantly come from Pakistan (17264 refugees), Afghanistan (6439 refugees), Syria (4994 refugees), Morocco, Iran, Iraq, and Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2019). Data on the number of migrants staying in BiH in a certain period in 2019 varies, but usually, that number ranges from 5000-8000 migrants. Some migrants are housed in organized temporary reception centers, while a number of them still move through BiH individually or in groups.

Transit corridors from Bulgaria/North Macedonia and Serbia, as well as through Albania and Montenegro, merge in BiH. Strict border controls by Croatian border police severely limit the possibilities for onward movement, and as reception capacities in BiH are

limited, there are critical needs for direct humanitarian assistance. Bihać⁴ is under constant pressure due to a large number of migrants and records significant losses due to that in tourism, but also in other fields, everything is made worse by the appearance of the COVID-19 pandemic. Velika Kladuša (town in Bosnian Krajina, near the Croatian border) has recorded a more significant number of migrants, and more incidents and criminal acts have been registered among migrants. (Šiljdedić, 2020).

The official refugee camps in the country are full, and the government has not found new locations, despite receiving 14.8m euros from the E.U. in 2019. At the same time, the accumulation of the number of stationary migrants in BiH is leading to the spread of the crisis from humanitarian to security, which could result in a more significant approach to securitizing the problem.

The region itself is facing socio-economic-political long-term fragility. Economic migrations from the ex-Yu are among the highest in the E.U. according to Eurostat, Migration and migrant population statistics, (2017). The consequence of "quasi" macroeconomic stability in the region is a registered unemployment rate of 50%, which is above the 48% unemployment rate that preceded Hitler's coming to power in the 1930s.

In a broader socio-political sense, nationalisms, i.e., the leading proponents of the ideology of exclusion, "quickly became allies in the ex-Yu" (Papić, 2002)," which further weakened and impoverished all others who did not support such discourses. Nationalist ideologies and identity politics affect the socio-economic-political stalemate of BiH, 25 years after the war.

The current situation in BiH is exacerbated by new waves of the "migrant crisis", where there is a possibility that within the movement of people under risky and long journeys with various mediations, there may be an abuse of migrants for various purposes of exploitation. BiH's complex constitutional structure⁵, ethnic divisions, systematic corruption (Hadžić, 2020: 259), and the need for active intergovernmental cooperation make the fight against human trafficking and smuggling challenging.

⁴ Bihać is a city and the administrative center of Una-Sana Canton of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is situated on the banks of river Una in northwestern BiH.

⁵ BiH is home to the world's most complex public administration. The Constitution defines Bosniaks-Croats-Serbs as constituent people, while the citizen is mentioned only in the preamble. In addition to situating most of the powers under the auspices of entities, the Constitution copied the model of "ethnic control over political power" to state institutions, guaranteeing their Constitution on a tripartite basis.

Focusing on human trafficking and smuggling as a security threat ignores the voices of victims whose human and legal rights must be protected. A large number of unaccompanied children are the riskiest and vulnerable category among the migrant population, as they are exposed to multiple risks daily, not only to the risks of the groups within which they move but also to the risks of the environment in which they came. The stigma that poverty or marginalization brings, as well as the disenfranchisement at many levels to which people who are excluded/marginalized are exposed, is further exacerbated by the dependent position of the child. Simultaneously, the policy of isolating migrants in the migrant camps throughout BiH puts traffickers in a favorable position. However, the rate of potential and actual cases of exploitation of migrants remains low. (BiH Ministry of Security Report, 2019) Also, some migrants who may have experienced some form of exploitation may not have adequately understood or reported their situation for fear that this might prevent them from moving towards the E.U.

Recent studies on trafficking in human beings in the context of the crisis show that joint measures are reactive to events and taken only when evidence of trafficking in human beings is collected. Such a response usually comes too late and often does not protect victims. (IOM, 2015) The very line between migrant smuggling and migrant trafficking often becomes blurred, as large-scale displacement encourages illegal migration and links to criminal activities. "Many shortcomings and challenges in identification and referral relate to the separation between the migration and asylum processes in BiH; reception, identification, vulnerability testing, mental health, housing, and asylum procedures and anti-trafficking frameworks; identification, referral, assistance, and protection." (Rizvo, 2019) Human rights and global humanitarian actions identify a person as a victim, but its participation in its socio-economic-legal processes is lacking.

The discourse of the loud public within mass psychology is often a reflection of the discourse of the power structures, and this, of course, is aided by the detection, external and internal, of enemies. The ethnically fragmented Institutional Structures of BiH, within the humanitarian-security framework, have led to a critical situation, creating an atmosphere of conflict between locals and migrants.

Lack of will and incompetence ethnic parties to establish consensus on major issues, the fight against organized crime, and social and economic development; in addition to not having the power to reach consensus on the development of the state, they continuously "produce mutual political conflicts" (Kartsonaki, 2019), based on ethnopolitical mobilizing ideologies. In BiH, all three ethnopolitical structures pursue containment policies, so "hybrid

wars" prevent their necessary transition into three political communities, without adopting a functional rule of law. (Hadžić, 2020: 250)

Since the beginning of the BiH migrant crisis, more restrictive right-wing policies are reflected in the Republika Srpska entity's actions.⁶ The current member of the Serbian people's presidency, Milorad Dodik (on a blacklist by the U.S. Treasury Department), is often the bearer of extreme rhetorics. Namely, the ruling party in the entity of Republika Srpska, the Alliance of Independents from the Social Democrats - Milorad Dodik "at the 5th party congress held on April 25, 2015, adopted a Declaration entitled" Republika Srpska - free and independent future and responsibility "announcing the possibility of a referendum on the independence of that entity.

One of the points of the declaration states that "if by the end of 2017 there are no visible processes and measurable results of establishing the position of Republika Srpska by Annex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the National Assembly of Republika Srpska should call a referendum on independent the status of Republika Srpska." In Republika Srpska, Prime Minister Milorad Dodik has threatened to secede from Bosnia and Herzegovina if Kosovo becomes independent. Besides, Dodik stated, "I will only support Bosnia in football when it plays against Turkey!" Moreover, when it comes to migrants, it is "a civilizational occupation of Christianity and BiH has been offered as a refugee parking lot, and Europe must finance it. "We in BiH have a serious problem. They do not see it in Sarajevo, but our people are afraid of migrants," Dodik said. (Balkan, 2020)

The notion "enemy," specifically, as the essence of the political is the exalted position, according to K. Schmidt (1923). The notion of the enemy is at the very heart of the Balkan politics. Friend-enemy is the ultimate degree of intensity of grouping and separation. Moreover, the author suggests that Balkan politics highlights the "big state "hegemony's matrix are the moments in which the enemy sees the enemy in real clarity. From today's perspective, there is an absolute correlation between democracies' power and stability, i.e., defective democracies and instability within extremist ideas' tolerance as collective behavioral patterns characterized by the Western Balkans mentality, which in local historical and current circumstances implies antagonism to the most dramatic conflicts. (Hadžić, 2020: 264)

From the example of the post-Yugoslav space, one could learn a lesson about internal discord and destruction ideologies as inconvenient historical facts in this area: fear of the other (minority/majority discourse) is the greatest enemy of all social human communities.

⁶ One of the two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the other being the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Hadžić, 2020: 812) It is clear that more socially conservative individuals from BiH, in the context of the migration crisis, may perceive migrants as dangerous for their way of life and, therefore, through more pronounced distances. Of course, prejudiced attitudes, especially acting by them, require more complex mechanisms of explanation. However, social identity, and the internalization of group values and the perception of the external group as a threat, and in the political aspect, the acceptance of more conservative political ideologies that propagate the protection of these same group values, are the primary sociopsychological mechanisms of prejudice.

By observation, from the beginning of 2018, at the bus and train station, city parks, and mosques in the central Bosnia city, with the change of focus group, due to the daily transit to border towns, the author notices that there are practically no women among the migrants. One of them, M.N., age of 32, an I.T. technician by profession, from Morocco, says: "You Bosnians our Muslim brothers, but I want to go to Germany. There is no work here. Do you have a good job here in Bosnia? My answer was that young people leave, but follow long-term diplomatic and legal procedures, he shrugs his shoulders, saying, "inshallah."⁷ Several others claim that they have no intention of going further, and were particularly interested in the nearest mosque. "First, I was in Iran, then in Turkey for at least three months. I somehow got to Greece from Turkey, where I was in a similar center for two months. Later I went through Macedonia, Serbia, until I arrived in Bosnia, where I would like to stay, says A.K., 42, from Punjab Pakistan. He notes, "Bosnian Muslim people are terrific, many help us every day." The first time the author met I.R., 27, from Pakistan, a young mechanical engineer when worked as a volunteer, he immediately noted, "Bosnia and Pakistan are both Islamic states, my brother." After the answer that BiH is not an Islamic state and that his statement is inappropriate, exclusionary, and misunderstanding, he reacted perplexed.

Since the opening of the so-called Balkan migrant route, there have been two opposing public discourses. The first is that migrant refugees are considered people in need, who are helped in various ways. The reasons for this can be found in the fact that many people from BiH during the War of the 1990s were in a similar situation as today's migrants, labeled and stigmatized, within the discourse of adapting to something else that is often a complex process. The second discourse is xenophobic and right-wing, which advocates that migrants

⁷ Arabic language expression meaning "if God wills" or "God willing" The phrase comes from a Quran which commands Muslims to use it when speaking of future events.

are part of a "conspiracy", that they are terrorists and that they pose a danger to the citizens of BiH and Europe. The analysis of this determinant is especially crucial since the migrant crisis in BiH (and Europe) necessarily carries an ethnic and cultural sign, in terms of the clash of different national groups, cultures, and religions. The shaping of relations, therefore, follows partly from the political-ideological orientation.

Thus, it is impossible to ignore the role of the media in influencing public and political attitudes towards asylum and migration. The very term "migrant", which is used exclusively in the media, contributes to the dehumanization of people on the move. The news in BiH was mostly pessimistic and written in the manner of "fighting" against migrants and the migrant crisis. Some of the news had a milder and more humane connotation, such as stories about severe living conditions from which migrants fled and the hope they have for a better life in the countries they went to (Sokolović, 2019), and some expressed concern about severe conditions in by which migrants stay in reception centers and the state and the E.U. do not care for this population.

In the media, a migrant is a person who has no future, not even sexual orientation. The migrant has no identity other than that relating to the illegal border crossing. Because of such media constructions, it becomes difficult for ordinary citizens to identify with people on the move, leading to misunderstandings and intolerances across Europe.

5. Religious Identity on the Balkan - Bosnian Migrant Route

Islam is an integral part of everyday life and influences dress, behavior, and upbringing, and Europe, on the other hand, is secularized, and religion does not play a substantial role in public life.

In addition to the existence of the so-called secularized Islam, Islam among immigrants is still (is) a very living religion, of course, despite the hopes of many guardians that it will disappear. However, what worries those who like to talk about freedom of expression and freedom of the press is that Muslims strive to ban any criticism of Islam and everything related to it." (Markešić, 2014)

An enormous distrust is towards migrants from African and Asian countries (therefore, those who have, in principle, a different religious and cultural identity). Of course, it is essential how migrants relate to the fundamental values of European societies (whether they accept them), such as religious freedoms, women's rights, personal freedoms, and the like. Even when the local population accepts migrants, several issues arise, such as knowledge

of the language of the domicile country as a precondition for faster integration into a new society, the issue of assimilation, and the like. On May 16 2017, the Austrian Parliament adopted a law according to which migrants are obliged to study German language and ethics for a year. The same law prohibits the wearing of clothing that completely covers the face. Also, the distribution of the Qur'an (!) is forbidden. (Jutarnji list, 2017: 2) Obviously, "intellectual debate is not at the highest level when it is fueled by misery, hatred, hysteria, humiliation, and a call for revenge" (Eagleton 2010: 144).

At the forefront of this is the European right, which invokes Christian tradition and values, and itself renounces them to migrants (equality of people). However, the only political force that does not reduce Muslims to second-class citizens and that opens up space for them to express their religious identity is the "godless" atheist-liberals." (Žižek, 2016: 52) In such circumstances, migrants gain the importance of religious institutions (gathering around temples and on the periphery of the urban environment). As a rule, migrants live in urban areas, grouped according to the criteria of the same religious/national cultural affiliation (they can be suburbs and suburbs). They gather in their "national" churches/mosques/Buddhist temples. "Communities in the diaspora have surrounded themselves with their religion as a protective wall." (Dalheim, 2016: 126) Language and country of origin play a crucial role regardless of a collective religious identity, it shows how difficult it is to pass on Western values to members of other cultures because most migrant cultures are based on different religious traditions and values.

Religious symbols ceased to be religious symbols because they became symbols of belonging to a certain identity. Religious symbols that have been turned into a mere means of protecting national (and any other) identity become a means of conflict" (Babić, 2017: 123) Fear of losing identity within multinational communities, such as Yugoslavia, after disintegration led to the sudden "emergence" of antagonistic individual national identities, becoming indivisible, and exclusive. Furthermore, many citizens of BiH, who migrated during the 1991-1995 war, have the experience of carrying the religious culture to another „world”, in addition to a bundle of the most necessary things. Besides, group identity can be essential for immigrants, especially recent ones - and even more so for non-Christians, such as Muslims and Hindus, who feel that their religion is different from the majority religion. (Taylor, 2011: 516) To make the paradox bigger, in a decade or two, in their new homelands, they became "bigger" Catholics, Orthodox, Muslims (Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks) than their peers who stayed and grew up in BiH. Besides, migrations also bring with them religious diversity. Ethnopolitics and religious exclusivism in the former Yugoslavia as hegemonic

projects conducted under the auspices of "one people, one state, one religion," (ethnophiletism), and the appropriation and exclusion of symbols of the religion for only one ethnic origin lead directly to conflicts between ethnic groups. In this way, religion, as such, which has its universal metaphysical contents, becomes instead instrumentalized for obscure daily political purposes. Religious contents become instruments or means of differentiation among nations. (Hadžić, 2020)

Of course, "diversity is not a value in itself" (Eagleton, 2017: 36). In certain situations, we do not need diversity, but solidarity. However, in a critical sense, diversity is a positive value. Diversity "catches the eye because it is perceived. Excessive insistence on differences and diversity rather than otherness can become a source of discrimination.

The attitude towards special immigrant groups depends on many conditions; it is contextually specific and often nationally specific on the example of the Balkan route, i.e., BiH.

The author noted the religious discourse in the dimension of integration of migrants in BiH, those parts in which Bosniaks⁸ are the majority, feelings of belonging and identification with the culture of a residential society, where Islamic regulations on the matrix are legitimized by recognizing a universal theological matrix.

Since the BiH government is ethnically fragmented, aid is unstable and dependent on political interests, increasing the help provided by individuals have consequential outcomes in terms of support on the BiH route. The findings, within interviews, point out that national affiliation is not a significant factor in feeling more welcome than religious identification with domicile people.

The social distances between Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs, and towards other ethnic groups in Europe and the world, within the social psychology, speaks of a rather dark state of affairs. The relations between Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs, and towards other ethnic groups in Europe, speaks of a rather dark state of affairs and the distances are pronounced.

⁸ Ethnic group native to BiH, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia. Bosniaks are typically characterized by their historic tie to the Bosnian historical region, traditional majority adherence to Islam since the 15th and 16th centuries, common culture and Bosnian language. As of 2017 Bosniaks are also recognised as a national minority in Albania. English speakers frequently refer to Bosniaks as Bosnian Muslim. Over two million Bosniaks live in the Balkans, with an estimated additional million settled and living around the world. Ethnic cleansing and genocide during the Bosnian War (1992–95) have had an effect on the territorial distribution of the population. Partly due to this, a significant Bosniak diaspora exists in a number of countries, including Austria, Germany, Turkey, Australia, Sweden, Canada, and the USA.

These distances, between peoples living close to each other, were more significant than towards peoples physically distant from BiH, such as the Germans or the Russians. There are also pronounced distances towards other peoples, except "close" peoples, such as Russians to Serbs, Germans to Croats, or Turks to Bosniaks.

Alternatively, the minority, especially in crises or revolutions, retreats where the majority will (Jergović, 2010: 140). Migrants in a religious community see an institution with the help of preserving the identity provided to them by their family (which is now not there), and many socialize around BiH mosques.

"I started in Morocco, and I have a goal, I would like to have the opportunity to start a better life to help my family financially in Morocco. I do not care about the place or the country where I can do it. Bosnia is the best country I've been to so far. I prefer it to all other European countries because there are many good and kind people there, Muslims. Also, nowhere in Europe can I hear the call to prayer, and the whole of Bosnia is scattered when it is time to worship," said A.A., 36, although he is still not sure where he will build his better future and home in which to raise a family.

I decided to go. I left my parents and sister in Algeria. I heard that there are Muslims in Bosnia and that they are perfect people. I later convinced myself that it was so. My trip to BiH lasted almost a year, and I reached Hadžići⁹ on foot from Turkey. I would like to stay in Hadžići, near the mosque, because my heart is here. All my friends who have arrived with me and most of them I have met here have long since gone across the border to Western Europe. I want to stay here – D.H., 33, from Algiers stressed.

In the case of BiH, identifying with a religious group is a more reliable predictor of feeling welcome in the context of a global emergency than identifying with a nation. The feeling of belonging is essential to people, and the Muslim identity or acceptance of Islam is seen as a way of demanding dignity in an environment of bitter feelings of exclusion from society.

It is stated that this is especially pronounced in the second generation of immigrants, those born in Europe (Khosrokhavar, 2005). Many members of the second generation of immigrants in search of a sense of belonging are beginning to see themselves primarily as Muslims, to identify with "Muslim things" (Kramer, 2004).

The Bosnian migrant crisis environment is a symbolic moment or a demarcation of territories based on sacral objects. Thus, migrants are more comfortable identifying because

⁹ Town and a municipality located in Sarajevo Canton of the Federation of BiH.

they have significantly fewer problems finding and establishing a religious identity than in a somewhat more fluid national or ethnic identity. There are evident advantages to this fluid and participative approach to understanding both religion and integration.

Moreover, the author maintains that Bosnia's intellectual heritage provides ample evidence that Europe and Islam are far from incompatible; they have been intertwined for centuries.

6. Conclusions

The issue of migration is a central issue of Europe's future, security, and identity. The very term Migrant crisis needs scientifically and functionally-practically questioning. We cannot talk about a crisis of people, but about people in a certain crisis. In reality, there is no crisis caused by migrants, but mostly a crisis caused by policies responsible for the escalation of war and poverty.

The question of the crisis of the fundamental concept of the E.U., which guarantees the free movement of people and goods within that community, arises. In this sense, the "refugee crisis" pointed to Western democracies' hidden side - the fact that borders are not open to people but to capital and goods. In the era of fundamental values, the very notions of trans-nationality and post-nationality are called into question. Such a trend should not hide the fact that the nation-state model has undergone significant changes in the globalized world, becoming less sustainable and less critical for cultural, political, and economic processes. Despite being defined as a political subject, E.U.'s cultural integrity remains unclear, and the migrant crisis opens up a multiculturalism discourse.

The E.U. cannot be legitimized by the perception of "European patriotism" that can be attributed to entire European nations, unlike the United States, where language, political culture, and history have served as the "glue" of allied design. Due to the wave of migrants, the poor social status of minorities, the strengthening of right-wing parties, the size of minority groups, growing economic insecurity of Western countries and the growing fear of losing national identity in an environment of globalized culture, some E.U. countries perceived multiculturalism as a danger to national identities and balance in societies. Also, it is not disputed that the acceptance of all kinds of diversity, whether ethnic, religious or simply political, does not relieve immigrants of the duty to recognize all the rules necessary to conduct the process of effective coexistence.

If we view migrants exclusively as a humanitarian entity, they become universal and passive victims. Their experiences and personal histories are neglected in this context, and no importance is attached to questioning their possibilities for effective action. A migrant, understood as an exclusively humanitarian subject, does not exist as an individual, but only as part of a depoliticized mass, and the problem of cultural threat and fear of terrorism.

On the other hand, the predominantly security discourse in accession emphasizes the threat - in which case, they are perceived as potential extremists and terrorists, violators of the European culture and security, those from whom one should protect and defend oneself. In this sense, the humanitarian and security discourse reflects the micro-level of the situation on the ground and the mass media's macro levels and political action. In addition to the threat of terrorism, which is regularly associated with Islam, general decline in citizens' feelings of security, and anti-immigration attitudes and prejudices are often reflected through contextually and group-specific stereotypes.

The migrant crisis triggered an avalanche of xenophobia and the dispersion of anti-immigrant sentiments that became a reference matrix for radical populism. These parties routinely arouse public fear about newcomers' supposed threat to European culture, economy, and security. Social identity and the internalization of group values and the perception of the external group as a threat, and in the political aspect, the acceptance of more conservative political ideologies that propagate the protection of these same group values, are the primary sociopsychological mechanisms of prejudice. Media "hate behind the curtain", through the concept of "mass psychology", regardless of the category of migrants, contributes to dehumanization, loss of identity, even gender orientation, through the frame of collective illegal border crossing.

The antagonistic stereotypical narrative about migrants starts from the thesis that they constitute a retrograde social group representing an economic and security threat to the domicile population, and which is not capable of cultural assimilation in the countries of transit, reception, and final destination. In the case of BiH, identifying with a religious group is a more reliable predictor of feeling welcome in the context of a global emergency than identifying with a nation. Religious identification plays a different role depending on whether or not the potential helper and the victims hold the same religion. The sense of belonging and identification with the residential society (Bosniak parts), where Islamic regulations on the matrix are legitimized by recognizing a common theological matrix, is a symbolic moment or symbolic demarcation of territories based on sacral objects, and a participative approach to understanding both religion and integration.

In addition to the existence of the so-called secularized Islam, Islam among immigrants is still (is) a very living religion and indispensable aspect of integration. Thus, the religious approach to integration has some distinctive benefits and therefore should be encouraged and supported.

Viewing members of other cultures as "enemies" or "others" that can harm collective identity is not a liberal principle, but a nationalist one and a significant portion of anti-migrant attitudes can be interpreted from a cultural perspective. By accepting liberal principles, states must also accept the task of fighting for equality and respect for society's identity. If the E.U. is considered multicultural, they should include their values in the most important state documents, which would make the values of all members of cultural minorities equal. Awareness of the values and importance of coexistence must be promoted through education by enabling education about languages and cultures. Public policies should promote not only economic but also cultural and intangible equality. Human rights and global humanitarian actions identify a person as a victim, but its participation in its socio-economic-legal processes is lacking. Affirmative actions can put migrants in a better position and thus create better chances.

Within the communications of migrants and the state bodies they come to, they should insist on participation in socioeconomic and political systems, which means realizing the preconditions for the beginning of cultural integration, which is critical. The E.U. urgently requires a new, coherent policy that will address current migrant issues and prepare for future waves of migration. EU economic development strategies could consider the important role migrants can play in boosting a local economy. Furthermore, arguably there are some agreed aspects of integration, including recognizing that it is a dynamic process of interaction and participation; and that it should promote the economic, cultural, social and civic participation of migrants.

The link between migration and human trafficking/smuggling is deeply rooted in the causes of migration: economic, social, and political contexts in the country of origin, and often in poverty, war, violence, and persecution. Increasingly restrictive international border control policies, the lack of a legal basis for the safer movement of migrants, and prolonged stays in transit countries increase the risk of exploitation. Risks can continue in the country of destination, especially if the migrants are without identity documents. Addressing the "migration crisis" only as temporary humanitarian care for refugees (providing collective accommodation) is not a solution.

However, the creation of a global project, after registration and medical-mental health examination and assistance, migrants could receive information, and legal assistance in exercising their legal rights, and the way they can reach the final destination of their journey. Furthermore, the migrant crisis's issue has enormous detrimental consequences of BiH socioeconomic and political stability.

This study stresses the potential for future research that could lead to more insights into the significance of the relationship between national and religious identities, xenophobia, prejudice, radicalism, and socio-political inclusion at the EU and regional levels.

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